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ABSTRACT

This paper reviews theories and research studies concerning prejudice and suggests strategies for reducing prejudice in students. The first half of the paper describes theories and research studies. A summary of Arnold M. Rose's critical analysis of the older, simpler theories of prejudice and of the more complex modern psychological explanations is presented. Simpson's and Yinger's comprehensive theory of prejudice is examined. Personality theories of prejudice which consider personality as the most important variable in the formation of bigotry are discussed and flaws are pointed out. Personality studies are described and social structure theories of prejudice are reviewed. The last half of the paper uses research results to suggest strategies for reducing prejudice in the schools. For example, research indicates that visual materials such as pictures and films greatly enhance the effectiveness of attempts to change racial attitudes. Therefore, the author suggests that for a school intervention program to be successful, teachers must use multiethnic teaching materials that present ethnic minority groups in a favorable and realistic fashion. This is a micro approach to prejudice reduction. But because the school is an interrelated social system, each part of which shapes and influences the racial attitudes and behavior of students, the intervention program must also take a macro approach to reducing prejudice and be institutional and comprehensive in nature. Both the manifest and hidden curricula must be reformed. The paper emphasizes the need for an interdisciplinary conceptual curriculum and for teaching multi-ethnic perspectives. (RM)

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REDUCING PREJUDICE IN STUDENTS:

THEORY, RESEARCH, AND STRATEGIES

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SP 014 006

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REDUCING PREJUDICE IN STUDENTS:
THEORY, RESEARCH, AND STRATEGIES

The Causes of Prejudice

We cannot reduce racial prejudice unless we acquire an understanding of its causes.[1] First, however, we need to define prejudice. The literature on race relations is replete with efforts to define prejudice. While the definitions differ to some extent, most suggest that prejudice is a set of rigid and unfavorable attitudes toward a particular group or groups which is formed in disregard of facts. The prejudiced individual responds to perceived members of these groups on the basis of their preconceptions, tending to disregard behavior or personal characteristics that are inconsistent with their biases. Simpson and Yinger (1965, p. 10) have provided a lucid and useful definition of prejudice:

> Prejudice is an emotional, rigid attitude (a predisposition to respond to a certain stimulus in a certain way) toward a group of people. They may be a group only in the mind of the prejudiced person . . . he categorizes them together, although they may have little similarity or interaction. Prejudices are thus attitudes, but not all attitudes are prejudices.

Although social scientists have attempted for years to derive a comprehensive and coherent theory of prejudice, their efforts have not been totally successful. A number of theories explain various components of prejudice, but none sufficiently decribes its many dimensions. Social

scientists have rejected some of the older, more simplistic theories of prejudice; other theories are too limited in scope to be functional. Still others are extremely useful in explaining certain forms of prejudice directed toward specific groups, but fail to account for its other facets. A serious study of the theories of prejudice reveals the complexity of this configuration of attitudes and predispositions; thus, simplistic explanations of prejudice only hinder our understanding of it.

Theories of Prejudice

Arnold M. Rose (1962) has critically reviewed both the older, simpler theories of prejudice and the more complex modern psychological explanations. A summary of his analysis is presented below in order to illuminate the strengths and weaknesses of the various theories.

The racial and cultural difference theory maintains that people have an instinctive fear and dislike of individuals who are physically and culturally different from themselves. Rose dismisses this theory as untenable, since research indicates that children are tolerant of other races and groups until they acquire the dominant cultural attitudes toward ethnic minorities. Children must be taught to dislike different races and ethnic groups. Writes Rose, "[This theory] should be thought of as a rationalization of prejudice rather than as an explanation of it" (p. 78).

The economic competition theory holds that prejudice emanates from antagonism caused by competition between various groups for jobs and other

economic rewards. Although this theory sheds light on many historical examples of racial prejudice and discrimination, it has some gross limitations. It fails to explain why a group continues to practice discrimination when it no longer profits economically from doing so. A number of studies document the severe financial losses attributable to discrimination against ethnic groups.

The social control theory maintains that prejudice exists because individuals are forced to conform to society's traditions and norms; thus, they dislike certain groups because they are taught to do so by their culture. While this theory helps to explain why prejudice may be perpetuated when it is no longer functional, it does not consider how it originates.

The traumatic experience theory states that racial prejudice emerges in an individual following a traumatic experience involving a member of a minority group during early childhood. This theory is inadequate because young children do not associate an unpleasant experience with a particular racial group unless they have already been exposed to the concept of racial differences. In noting another limitation of this theory, Harley (1968) writes:

> This idea can be discounted because persons can hold extreme prejudice with no contact with persons of the discriminated class, and the traumatic experiences reported by persons as reason for their prejudice are very often found to be either imagined by them or elaborated and embellished beyond recognition.

The frustration-aggression theory is a modern psychological explanation of prejudice. It suggests that prejudice results when individuals become frustrated because they are unable to satisfy real or perceived needs. Frustration leads to aggression, which may then be directed toward minority groups because they are highly visible targets and unable to retaliate. Displacing aggression on stigmatized groups is much safer than attacking the real source of the frustration. Rose illuminates two basic weaknesses in this theory: (1) it fails to explain why certain groups are selected as targets rather than others, and (2) it assumes that all frustration must be expressed. However, a number of writers and researchers have relied heavily on this theory to help explain the emergence and perpetuation of prejudice.

The projection theory states that "people attribute to others motives that they sense in themselves but that they would not wish to acknowledge openly" (Rose, 1962, p. 83). This theory is severely limited because it fails to explain motives for prejudice or why certain characteristics are attributed to specific groups.

In attempting to derive a comprehensive theory of prejudice, Rose (1962) suggests that the modern psychological theories are the most useful explanations. He writes:

> The central theories today which seriously attempt to explain prejudice are based on the concepts of frustration-aggression, projection, and symbolic substitution. These theories have a good deal in common

despite the differing kinds of evidence which lead to their formation. All of them postulate 1) a need to express antagonism 2) toward something which is not the real object of antagonism. Not only is there an essential similarity among the three theories, but they complement each other at their weakest points. The symbolic theory does most to explain which group is selected for prejudice and why. The frustration-aggression theory does most to explain the strength behind prejudice. The projection theory offers a plausible explanation of the psychological function of prejudice as a cleansing agent to dissolve inner guilt or hurt (pp. 92-93).

A Comprehensive Theory of Prejudice

Simpson and Yinger (1965) have formulated a comprehensive theory of prejudice "around three highly interactive but analytically distinct factors, each the convergence of several lines of theory and evidence" (p. 49). The first factor is the personality requirements of the individual. As a result of both constitutional and learned needs, some people develop personalities that thrive on prejudices and irrational responses. This theory has been offered by a number of other writers and researchers. Later we will review some of the research on which it is based.

An individual may also develop prejudices based not on personality needs but on the way society is structured. The power structure of society is especially important to this concept, which is similar to the economic competition theory discussed by Rose. Simpson and Yinger (1965) write, "It

is impossible to interpret individual behavior adequately without careful attention to the social dimension" (p. 50).

The third basic cause of prejudice suggested by Simpson and Yinger is society itself.

> In almost every society . . . each new generation is taught appropriate beliefs and practices regarding other groups. Prejudices are, in part, simply a portion of the cultural heritage; they are among the folkways (p. 50).

This explanation is identical to the social control theory summarized by Rose.

Simpson and Yinger stress that all three of these factors interact: "Any specific individual, in his pattern of prejudice, almost certainly reflects all of the causes" (p. 50). Both they and Rose emphasize that multiple explanations are needed to account for the complexity of racial prejudice.

Personality Theories of Prejudice

In his review of the theories of prejudice, Rose (1962) discusses personality explanations. As we have seen, Simpson and Yinger cite the personality needs of the individual as one of the basic causes of prejudice; earlier researchers considered personality the most important variable in the formation of bigotry. The latter attributed different types of per-

sonalities to differences in child-rearing practices, some of which were thought to produce personalities that were intolerant of different races and groups, while others helped to develop racial tolerance and acceptance in the child. Else Frenkel-Brunswik and her associates (1948) conducted the pioneering research on the role of personality in the formation of prejudice.

In one of a series of studies (1948), Frenkel-Brunswik compared the racial attitudes and personality characteristics of 1500 children. Interviews were conducted with the subjects and their parents; both personality and attitude tests were administered. Frenkel-Brunswik concluded that there were significant differences in the personalities of prejudiced and unprejudiced children. She found that prejudiced children evidenced more rejection of outgroups, a blind acceptance of the in group, a greater degree of aggression, and a strong rejection of persons perceived as weak. The more prejudiced children also displayed a greater resentment of the opposite sex and an admiration for strong figures. They were more willing to submit to authority, more compulsive about cleanliness, and more moralistic. The unprejudiced children were "more oriented toward love and less toward power than the ethnocentric child . . . and more capable of giving affection" (p. 305). Frenkel-Brunswik notes, in summarizing her study, "It was found that some children tend to reveal a stereotyped and rigid glorification of their own group and an aggressive rejection of outgroups and foreign countries" (p. 296).

Frenkel-Brusnwik and her associates also studied the relationship between personality and prejudice in adults (Adorno, 1950). They concluded

that certain individuals, because of their early childhood experiences, have insecure personalities and a need to dominate and to feel superior to other individuals. These individuals possess an authoritarian personality which is manifested not only in racial prejudice but also in their sexual behavior and religious and political views. The authors write:

> The most crucial result of the present study, as it seems to the authors, is the demonstration of close correspondence in the type of approach and outlook a subject is likely to have in a great variety of areas, ranging from the most intimate features of family and sex adjustments through relationships to other people in general, to religion and to social and political philosophy. Thus a basically hierarchical, authoritarian, exploitive parent-child relationship is apt to carry over into a power-oriented, exploitively dependent attitude toward one's sex partner and one's God and may well culminate in a political philosophy and social outlook which has no room for anything but a desperate clinging to what appears to be a strong and disdainful rejection of whatever is relegated to the bottom (p. 971).

Flaws in Personality Research

While the research by Frenkel-Brunswik and her associates contributed greatly to the literature on the origins of prejudice, researchers have severely criticized it because of its methodological flaws and weak theoretical base. We will defer a discussion of the theory on which the research is based and review a number of its methodological weaknesses.

Simpson and Yinger (1965) have written one of the most perceptive critiques. They point out that the inadequate attention given to sampling techniques limits the generalizability of the findings. The research is also weakened by the heavy reliance on the subjects' memories of childhood; the inadequate control of variables, such as education and group membership; and the low reliability of the measuring instruments. The F Scale used by the researchers measured many variables simultaneously, failing to measure well any one variable. However, Simpson and Yinger conclude that the flaws in the research do not substantially diminish its import. "Despite the seriousness of such methodological problems, they do not refute, in the judgment of most observers, the significance of personality research for the student of prejudice" (p.66).

Other Personality Studies

Other researchers have also attempted to explain the emergence of racial prejudice as a personality variable. Lindzey (1950) studied the personalities of 22 individuals judged "high in prejudice" and 22 judged "low in prejudice." The subjects were divided into experimental and control groups. After exposing members of the experimental groups to a frustration experience, Lindzey concluded that the individuals high in prejudice evidenced more "frustration susceptibility" and "more overt disturbance in response to frustration than those low in minority group prejudice" (p. 39). The subjects high in prejudice also received higher scores on an instrument that measured "conservative nationalistic statements." Writes Lindzey:

> We have pointed to certain evidence in our data suggesting that the high in prejudice are more "frustratable," somewhat more aggressive, and more conforming to authority norms than the low in prejudice. Further, we have proposed that early exposure to strict norms is one means by which we might account for the behavior patterns that appear to characterize the high in prejudice in this study (p. 33).

Allport and Kramer (1946) found that the more prejudiced persons in a sample of college students maintained closer ties with their families, whereas the least prejudiced students "reacted against" their parents' attitudes. The former also had more negative memories of childhood, were better able to identify racial and ethnic groups, were more religious, and expressed more hostility and aggression. "From all these results," they write, "we conclude that prejudice is woven into the very fabric of personality [emphasis added]. A style of life is adopted. It proceeds by rule of thumb" (p. 35). The subjects who reported that they had studied "scientific facts about race" in school were more often classified as "less prejudiced." However, only 8 per cent of the subjects could recall studying racial facts in school.

Like Frenkel-Brunswik, Allport and Kramer believe that prejudice can be explained largely as a product of personality. However, both research teams compared extreme bigots with individuals who manifested few negative racial attitudes, whereas most people exhibit only an average amount of racial prejudice and do not have seriously disorganized personalities. Thus, there are severe limitations implicit in an exclusive personality approach to the study of prejudice.

Social Structure Theories of Prejudice

Herbert Blumer (1966) seriously questions attempts to attribute prejudice and discrimination to personality variables. He almost completely dismisses the role of attitudes in influencing behavior. Blumer asserts that the social setting rather than racial attitudes is the "prime determinant of behavior." In trying to understand discrimination against minority groups, he contends, we should analyze social settings and norms instead of the personal attitudes of the individual. Blumer reviews a number of studies which indicate that there is frequently a discrepancy between an individual's verbalized attitudes and his or her actual behavior.

Saenger and Gilbert (1950) found that prejudiced individuals will patronize a racially mixed store when their desire to shop exceeds their antipathy toward Blacks. Research by Blalock (1956) suggests that discrimination is not always a correlate of racial prejudice. In certain situations, prejudiced individuals may not discriminate, since the prevailing norms may affect their behavior more than their personal attitudes. Rose (1974) presents a useful typology for illustrating the relationship between prejudice and discrimination. He indentifies four ideal types:

1. the unprejudiced nondiscriminator,
2. the unprejudiced discriminator,
3. the prejudiced nondiscriminator,
4. the prejudiced discriminator.

Blumer summarizes an important study by Lohman and Reitzes (1952):

> In a study of race relations in a large city . . . the same set of whites behaved entirely differently toward Negroes in three situations --working establishment, residential neighborhood and shopping center; no prejudice or discrimination was shown in the working establishment where the whites and [Blacks] belonged to the same labor union, whereas prejudice and discrimination toward [Blacks] by the same whites was pronounced in the case of residential neighborhood (pp. 112-123).

Blumer seriously underestimates the role of attitudes and personality as determinants of racial discrimination and prejudice. An adequate theory of prejudice must take into account both personality variables and the social structure. Explaining prejudice and discrimination as totally a product of a disorganized personality ignores the fact that humans are social beings, and that their reactions in a social setting reflect not only their individual idiosyncrasies and biases but also the prevailing norms and expectations. Thus, bigoted teachers will be less inclined to manifest their true attitudes toward Black children when Black parents are visiting the room than those teachers would be inclined to do when they and the children are alone.

However, social setting alone cannot completely explain racial discrimination; neither can it, as Blumer implies, totally diminish the importance of racial attitudes. If the same bigoted teachers were transferred to an all-Black school in which there was little tolerance for racial discrim-

ination, their behavior would probably become more consistent with the dominant norms of the new setting, but their attitudes would most likely be revealed to their students in subtle ways and perhaps affect them just as profoundly. The most equalitarian social setting cannot cause an intense bigot to exhibit behavior identical to that of a person free of racial prejudice.

Much of the research that Blumer relies upon to support his hypothesis is subject to serious criticism, particularly the study by Lohman and Reitzes (1952). These authors found that their White subjects behaved "entirely differently toward [Blacks] in different social settings" [emphasis added] and showed "no prejudice toward them at work (Blumer, p. 112). However, I seriously question whether the Black factory workers would have endorsed these conclusions, believing instead that they most likely could have cited examples of discrimination directed against them by their White co-workers. It is highly unlikely that persons who are so bigoted that they would exclude Blacks from their neighborhoods could treat them with full equality at work or indeed in any other setting.

The social setting explanation of prejudice and discrimination presents other difficulties. In trying to explain an individual's reactions in a given situation, we must consider not only the group norms but the importance the individual attaches to the group and setting. Research suggests that a group or situation must be important to an individual before he or she accepts its norms and values. Pearlin (1954) classified a random sample of 383 college students into "acceptors" and "rejectors" on the

basis of their attitudes toward Blacks. A majority of the subjects who accepted Blacks in different situations had broken their close family ties and developed identifications with campus groups. The more prejudiced individuals indicated that they had maintained close ties with their families and developed few associations with campus groups. Students who became more racially liberal as a result of their college experience considered college group norms more important than their parents' attitudes, while the more prejudiced subjects deemed family norms more important. Thus, simply placing individuals in new settings with different norms and values does not necessarily change their behavior and attitudes. Pearlin writes:

> These findings indicate that when a person holds membership in groups having conflicting views on an issue, his own attitudes will be influenced by the relative importance of the groups to him. Generally, in such a situation the attitudes of the individual will approximate most nearly the norms of the groups to which he most closely refers himself . . . attitude change cannot be reckoned solely in terms of exposure to new ideas. Whether or not an individual will undergo modification of his attitude depends in large part on the nature of his relationship to groups holding the opposing sentiments and opinions (p. 50).

The social setting hypothesis also fails to take into account the fact that individuals collectively determine the group norm. Whether a group sanctions racial discrimination or racial tolerance thus depends on the attitudes of its members. Clearly, then, we must consider both individual

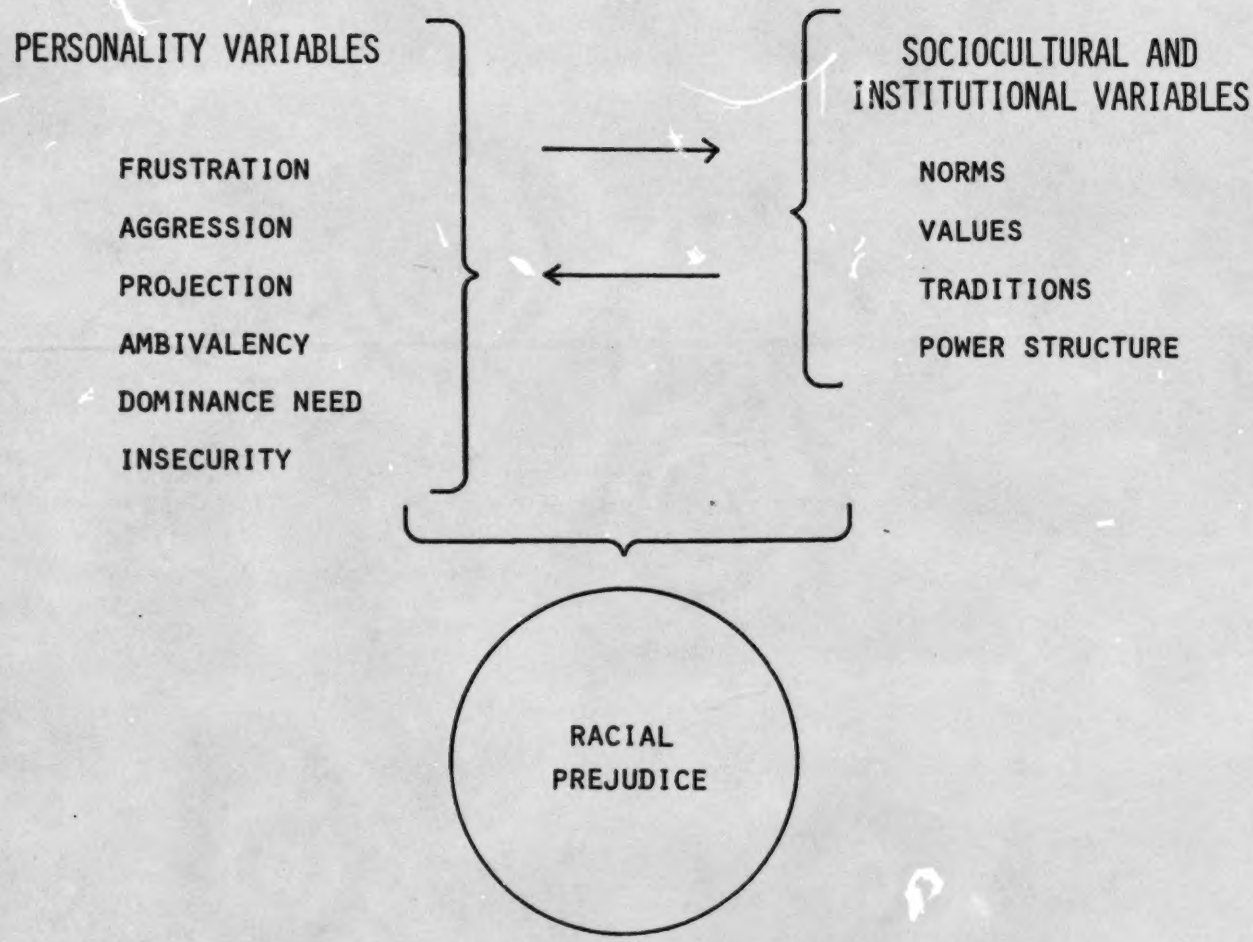
attitudes and social norms when attempting to explain the genesis and perpetuation of racial discrimination and prejudice. The most important variables that affect the formation of racial prejudice are summarized in Figure 1.

Micro Approaches to Prejudice Reduction

Both personality characteristics and the social structure of institutions influence the degree to which individuals are prejudiced and the extent to which they act on their prejudices, i.e., discriminate. However, few researchers have studied the effects of changes in social structure on the racial attitudes of students. Most researchers have examined the effects of particular components of the school, such as materials, films, interracial contact, and special units, on the racial attitudes of students. It is very difficult to identify and manipulate all of the major variables within an institution, such as a school, in an experimental situation.

Studies that have been conducted using materials, interracial contact, and special units on minority groups indicate that children's racial attitudes can be modified by school experiences specifically designed for that purpose. One of the most frequently cited studies on the effects of teaching materials on children's racial attitudes is the study reported by Trager and Yarrow (1952). Their curricula had significant affects on children racial feelings. All changes were in the expected directions. Children exposed to a democratic curriculum expressed more positive racial

FIGURE 1 VARIABLES THAT CAUSE RACIAL PREJUDICE



attitudes; those exposed to an ethnocentric curriculum developed more negative racial feelings. Trager and Yarrow (p. 341) summarized their study:

> The changes achieved in the experiment demonstrate that democratic attitudes and prejudiced attitudes can be taught to young children. The experiment contributes to an understanding of some of the important conditions which are conducive to learning attitudes. furthermore, it is apparent that children learn prejudices not only from the larger environment but from the content of the curriculum and its value. If democratic attitudes are to be learned they must be specifically taught and experienced.

Research by Johnson (1966) and by Litcher and Johnson (1969) confirms the Trager and Yarrow findings. Both studies support the postulate that teaching materials affect children's racial attitudes toward ethnic groups and themselves. Johnson (1966) studied the effects of a special program in Black history on the racial attitudes and self-concepts of a group of Black children. The course had a significant effect on the boys' attitudes. However, the effect on the girls' attitudes and self-perceptions was not significant.

> The Freedom School . . . seemed to have some effect on the boys in the areas of self-attitudes, equality of Negroes and whites, attitudes toward Negroes, and attitudes toward civil rights. That is, they became more confident in themselves, more convinced that Negroes and whites are equal, more positive toward Negroes, and more militant toward civil rights.

Litcher and Johnson (1969) investigated the effects of multiethnic readers upon the racial attitudes of White elementary students. On all posttest measures, the children who had studied multiethnic as opposed to all-White readers expressed significantly more positive racial feelings toward Blacks. The authors write convincingly, "The evidence is quite clear. Through the use of a multiethnic reader, white children developed markedly more faborable attitudes toward Negroes" (p. 151).

Katz and Zalk (1978) studied the effects of four short-term intervention techniques for modifying the racial attitudes of White elementary school children. The techniques were (1) increased positive racial contact, (2) vicarious interracial contact, (3) reinforcement of the color black, and (4) perpetual differentiation of minority group faces. The children were posttested after two weeks and again four to six months later. The author concluded:

> Results revealed a significant short-term reduction in prejudice for all experimental groups on combined measures. Vicarious contact and perceptual approaches were more effective than the other two. Some interaction effects with grade and race of examiner were found. Long-term treatment effects were less pronounced, although some gains were maintained in the vicarious contact and perceptual differentiation groups (p. 447).

Research by Horowitz (1947) indicates that <u>contact</u> with minority group members does not necessarily result in more positive attitudes toward them.

He used a series of tests to ascertain the racial attitudes of several hundred White boys in New York City, urban Tennessee, and in the rural and urban areas of Georgia. Some of the New York children attended segregated White schools; others attended racially mixed schools. Horowitz concluded that there were no significant differences in the racial attitudes expressed by the children in these various settings. The Northern White boys evidenced as much prejudice toward Blacks as the Southern White boys. Children residing in urban areas in the South were as prejudiced as those living in rural areas. Children attending racially mixed schools were as prejudiced as children attending all-White, segregated schools. The Black boys in the sample indicated a preference for white over black. The author interpreted his findings to mean that ". . . attitudes toward Negroes are chiefly determined not by contact with Negroes, but by contact with the prevalent attitude toward Negroes" (p. 517). Placing Black and White children in the same social setting will not necessarily make them feel better about each other. The social norms in the situation and the attitudes exemplified by the adult models are the significant variables.

In their important study of adolescent prejudice, Glock et al. (1975) found that youths who are cognitively sophisticated exemplify less prejudice and discrimination than students who lack cognitive sophistication. By cognitive sophistication Glock et al. mean the ability to think clearly about prejudice, to reason logically about it, and to ask probing questions. They write:

> The findings suggest that the best way for the schools to combat prejudice is simply for them to do their fundamental job of education more

effectively. This at least appears to be the message of the consistent finding that the most effective armor against prejudice is cognitive sophistication. Presumably, if the general level of cognitive sophistication were raised, without necessarily any specific instruction about prejudice, the incidence of prejudice would be reduced" (p. 174).

Although subject to the limitations of the research, a number of guidelines can be derived from the research on changing children's racial attitudes, some of which is reviewed above. The research suggests that children's racial attitudes can be modified if the school designs specific objectives and strategies for that purpose and if it increases students' cognitive sophistication. Most research studies indicate that specific instructional objectives must be clearly formulated; incidental teaching of race relations is not usually effective. Also, clearly defined teaching strategies must be structured to attain the objectives. Attitude changes induced by experimental intervention will persist through time, although there is a tendency for modified attitudes to revert back to the pre-experimental ones. However, the effects of the experimental treatment do not completely diminish. This finding suggests that intergroup education programs should not consist of one-shot treatments. Systematic experiences must be structured to reinforce and perpetuate the desired attitudes.

Visual materials such as pictures and films greatly enhance the effectiveness of attempts to change racial attitudes (Cooper and Dinerman, 1951). An effective intervention program must use multiethnic teaching materials that present ethnic minority groups in a favorable and realistic fashion.

Black history can help children to develop positive attitudes and self-perceptions. Contact with minority groups does not in itself significantly affect children's racial attitudes. The prevalent attitude toward different races and groups in the social situation is the significant determinant of children's racial feelings. The attitudes and predispositions of the classroom teacher are an important variable in a program designed to foster positive racial feelings and augment the ethnic child's self-image (Banks, 1972). Students who are able to reason at a high level and to think critically tend to show less prejudice than students who reason at lower levels and think less critically.

Macro Approaches to Prejudice Reduction

Most approaches to the reduction of prejudice in the schools have focused on limited factors in the school environment such as instructional materials, and aspects of the formalized curriculum such as courses and increasing levels of cognitive sophistication (Gabelko & Michaelis, 1981). While it is necessary to focus on these aspects of the school environment, this approach is clearly insufficient because the school is an interrelated social system, each part of which shapes and influences the racial attitudes and behavior of students. The social structure of institutions has a cogent impact on the racial attitudes, perceptions, and behavior of individuals. Thus, intervention designed to reduce prejudice among children should be institutional and comprehensive in nature. While it is necessary to use multiethnic instructional materials to increase the cognitive

sophistication of students, to focus exclusively on instructional materials and increasing the cognitive sophistication of students is too narrow and will not substantially reduce institutional prejudice and discrimination.

To reduce prejudice, we should attempt institutional or systemic reform of the total school and try to reform all of its major aspects, including institutional norms, power relationships, the verbal interactions between teachers and students, the culture of the school, the curriculum, extra-curricular activities, attitudes toward minority languages, and the counseling and testing program (see Figure 2). The latent or hidden values within an institution like a school often have a more cogent impact on students' attitudes and perceptions than the formalized course of study. Educators who have worked for years in curriculum reform know that equipping teachers with new skills, and placing them into an institutional environment whose norms contradict and do not support the teacher's use of those newly acquired skills, frequently leads to frustration and failure. Thus, any approach to school reform that is likely to succeed must focus on all major elements of the school environment.

Prejudice among children is reinforced by many aspects of the child's environment, including the school. Cortes (1981) uses the concept of the "societal curriculum" to describe the societal factors that influence and shape children's attitudes toward different ethnic and racial groups, such as television, newspapers, and popular books.

Often the negative images of ethnic groups that children learn in the larger society are reinforced and perpetuated in the school. Rather than

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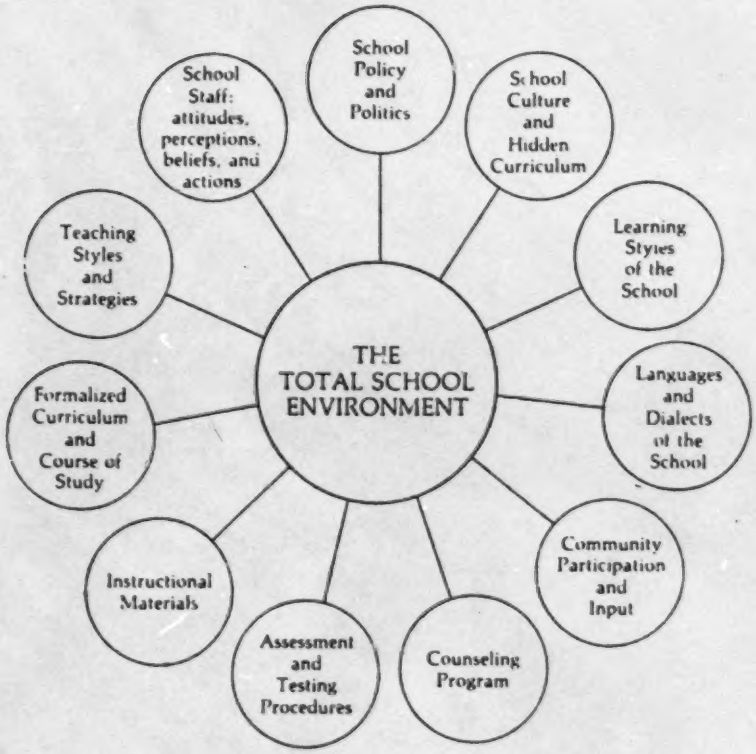
Figure 2 The Total School Environment

FIGURE 2
TOTAL SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT


THE TOTAL SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT
School Policy and Politics
School Culture and Hidden Curriculum
Learning Styles of the School
Languages and Dialects of the School
Community Participation and Input
Counseling Program
Assessment and Testing Procedures
Instructional Materials
Formalized Curriculum and Course of Study
Teaching Styles and Strategies
School Staff: attitudes, perceptions, beliefs, and actions

This figure conceptualizes the total school environment as a system consisting of a number of major identifiable variables and factors, such as school culture, school policy and politics, and formalized curriculum and course of study. In the idealized multiethnic school, each of these variables reflects ethnic pluralism. While any one of these factors may be the focus of initial school reform, changes must take place in each of them to create and sustain an effective multiethnic educational environment.

Reprinted from James A. Banks,(Editor), Education in the 80s: Multiethnic Education. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1981, p. 22.

reinforcing children's negative feelings toward ethnic groups, the school should counteract children's negative societal experiences and help them to develop more positive attitudes toward a range of ethnic and racial groups. It is not possible for the school to avoid playing a role in the ethnic education of students. This is because many children come to school with stereotypes of different racial and ethnic groups and negative attitudes toward these groups. Either the school can do nothing deliberate to intervene in the formation of children's racial attitudes (which means that the school would unwittingly particpate in the perpetuation of racial bias), or it can attempt to intervene and influence the development of children's racial attitudes in a positive direction.

To take this latter course, it is imperative that the school not merely devise a few units or teaching strategies to reduce prejudice and focus on the histories and cultures of ethnic groups on particular days or weeks of the school year. Specialized units and teaching strategies are clearly insufficient. Teaching about ethnic groups only at particular times may do more harm than good because these kinds of activities and rituals may reinforce the idea that ethnic groups, such as Asians and Indians, are not integral parts of Canadian society.

The school environment consists of both a manifest and a hidden curriculum. The manifest curriculum consists of discernable environmental factors such as curriculum guides, textbooks, bulletin boards, and lesson plans. These aspects of the school environment are important and must be reformed in order to create a school environment that promotes positive

attitudes toward diverse ethnic and racial groups. However, the school's latent or hidden curriculum is often a more cogent factor than its manifest or overt curriculum. The latent curriculum has been defined as the curriculum that no teacher explicitly teaches but that all students learn. It is that powerful part of the school experience that communicates to students the school's attitudes toward a range of issues and problems, including how the school views them as human beings and its attitudes toward diverse racial and ethnic groups.

How does the school communicate its cogent latent messages to students? They are communicated to children in a number of subtle but powerful ways, including these:

1. By the kind of verbal and non-verbal interactions teachers have with children from different racial and ethnic groups; by the kinds of statements teachers make about different ethnic groups; and by teachers' nonverbal reactions when issues related to ethnic groups are discussed in class. Research by Gay (1974), Rist (1970), and the United States Commission on Civil Rights (1973) indicates that teachers often have more positive verbal and nonverbal interactions with middle-class, Anglo students than with ethnic minority and lower-class students.

2. How teachers respond to the languages and dialects of children from different ethnic and racial groups. Some research suggests that teachers are often biased against the languages and dialects of children who are members of particular ethnic and racial groups (Saville-Troike, 1981).

3. Grouping practices used in the school. Research by Mercer (1981) and Samuda (1975) indicates that members of some ethnic groups in the United States are disproportionately placed in lower ability groups because of their performance on IQ and other standardized aptitude tests that discriminate against these groups because they are normed on middle class Anglo Americans.

4. Power relationships in the schools. Often in schools, most of the individuals who exercise the most power belong to dominant ethnic groups. Students acquire important learning by observing which ethnic groups are represented among the administrators, teachers, secretaries, cooks, and bus drivers in the school.

5. The formalized curriculum also makes statements about the values that the school has toward ethnic diversity. The ethnic groups that appear in textbooks and in other instructional material teach students which groups are considered to be important and unimportant by the school.

6. The learning styles, motivational systems, and cultures that are promoted by the school express many of the school's important values toward cultural differences. The educational environments of most schools are more consistent with the learning patterns and styles of Anglo-American students than with those of ethnic minority students, such as Blacks, Indians, and Puerto Ricans. Ramirez and Castaneda (1974) have found that Mexican-American youths tend to be more field-sensitive than field-independent in their cognitive styles. Anglo-American students tend to be

more field-independent. Field-sensitive and field-independent students differ in a number of charteristics and behavior. Field-sensitive students tend to work with others to achieve a common goal and are more sensitive to the feelings and opinions of others than field-independent students. Field-independent students prefer to work independently and to compete and gain individual recognition. Students who are field-independent are more often preferred by teachers and tend to get higher grades, although learning style is not related to IQ.

An Interdisciplinary Conceptual Curriculum

While it is essential that educators take an institutional approach to school reform when intervening to reduce prejudice in students, the formalized curriculum is a vital element of the school. Hence, curriculum reform is imperative. The curriculum within a school designed to help reduce prejudice in children should be interdisciplinary, focus on higher levels of knowledge, and help students to view events and situations from diverse ethnic and national perspectives.

In many ethnic studies units, activities, and programs, emphasis is placed on factual learning and the deeds of ethnic heroes. These types of experiences use ethnic content but traditional teaching methods. Isolated facts about Martin Luther King do not stimulate the intellect or help students to increase their levels of cognitive sophistication any more than discrete facts about George Washington or Thomas Jefferson. The emphasis in sound multiethnic programs must be on concept attainment, value

analysis, decision making, and social action (Banks, 1979; Banks 1981). Facts should only be used to help students to attain higher level concepts and skills. Students need to master higher level concepts and generalizations in order to increase their levels of cognitive sophistication.

Concepts taught in the multiethnic curriculum should be selected from several disciplines and, when appropriate, be viewed from the perspectives of such disciplines and areas as the various social sciences, art, music, literature, physical education, communication, the sciences, and mathematics. It is necessary for students to view ethnic events and situations from the perspectives of several disciplines because any one discipline gives them only a partial understanding of problems related to ethnicity. When students study the concept of culture, they can attain a global perspective of ethnic cultures by viewing them from the perspective of the various social sciences and by examining how they are expressed in literature, music, dance, art, communication, and foods. The other curriculum areas, such as science and mathematics, can also be included in an interdisciplinary study of ethnic cultures.

Concepts such as culture can be used to organize units and activities related to ethnicity that are interdisciplinary. Other concepts, such as communication and interdependence, can also be analyzed and studied from an interdisciplinary perspective (see Figure 3). It is neither possible nor desirable to teach each concept in the curriculum from the perspectives of several disciplines and curricular areas. Such an attempt would result in artificial relationships and superficial learnings by students. However,

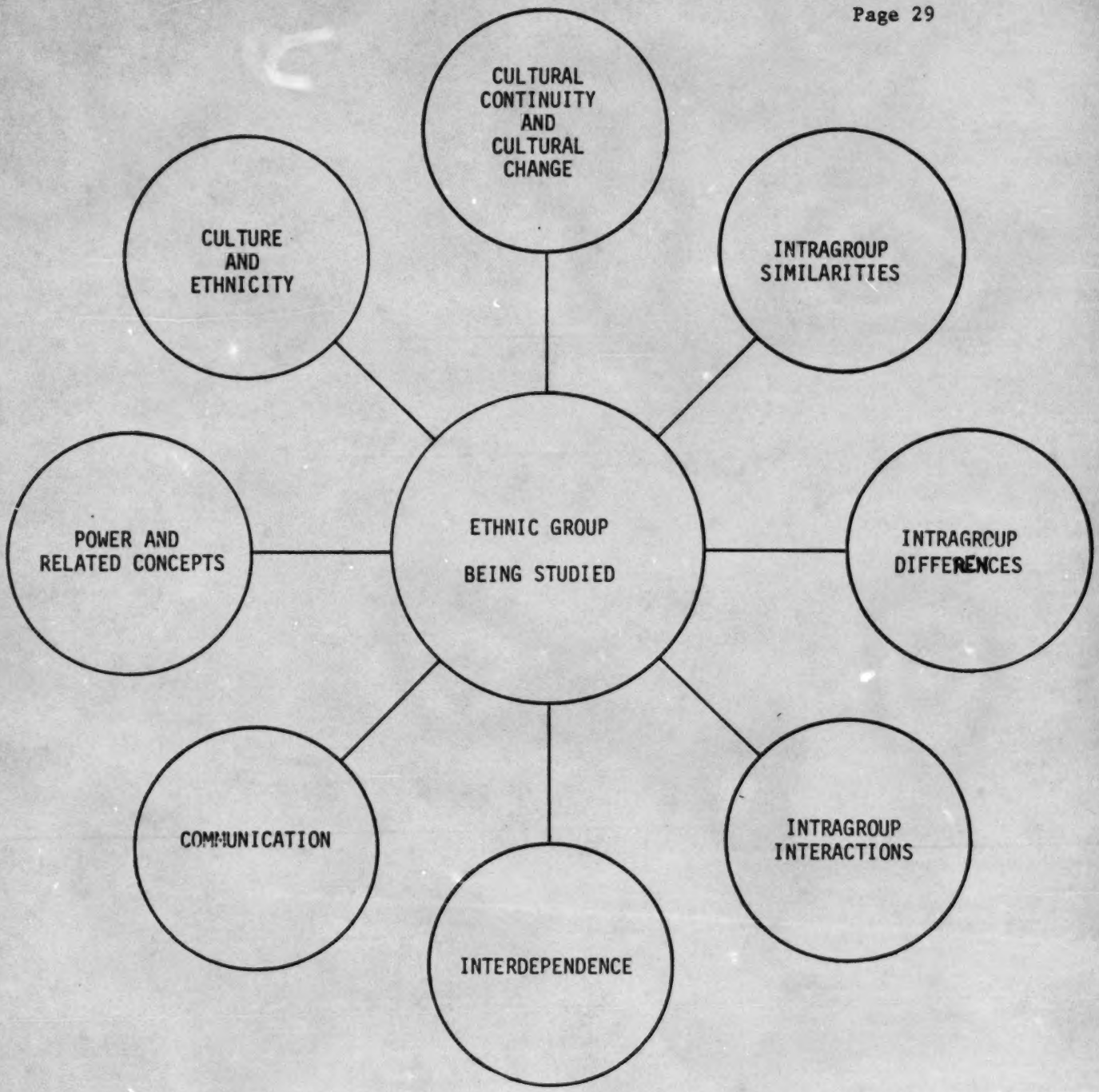


Figure 3 Interdisciplinary Concepts for Studying Ethnic Groups

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the many excellent opportunities that exist within the curriculum for teaching concepts from an interdisciplinary perspective should be fully explored and used.

Interdisciplinary teaching requires the strong cooperation of teachers in the various content areas. Team teaching will often be necessary, especially at the high school level, to organize and implement interdisciplinary units and lessons.

Teaching Multiethnic Perspectives

The curricula within schools that help to reduce prejudice must help students to view historical and contemporary events from diverse ethnic perspectives and points of view rather than from majority group perspectives as currently is done in most schools (Banks, 1981). These types of courses and experiences are based on what I call the Majority Group Centric Model or Model A. Ethnic studies, as a process of curriculum reform, can and often does proceed from Model A to Model B, the Ethnic Additive Model. In courses and experiences based on Model B, ethnic content is an additive to the major curriculum thrust, which remains majority group dominated. Many school districts that have attempted ethnic modification of the curriculum have implemented Model B types of changes. Asian Studies courses, Indian Studies courses, and special units on ethnic groups in the elementary grades are examples of Model B types of curricular experiences.

However, I suggest that curriculum reform proceed directly from Model A to Model C, the Multiethnic Model. In courses and experiences based on

Model C, the students study events and situations from several ethnic points of view. Majority perspectives form only one group among several, and are in no way superior or inferior to other ethnic perspectives.

I view Model D (the Ethno-National Model) types of courses and programs as the ultimate goal of curriculum reform. In this curriculum model, which links multiethnic and global education, students study events and situations from the perspectives of ethnic groups in various nations. Since we live in a global society, students need to learn how to become effective citizens of the world community. They are unlikely to learn this if they study historical and contemporary events and situations only or primarily from the perspectives of ethnic cultures within their own nation-state. Helping students learn how to view events and situations from diverse ethnic and national perspectives will not only enhance their cognitive sophistication but will help them to become more reflective citizens of our global world society.

Notes

1. Parts of this paper are based on an earlier paper, James A. Banks, The causes of prejudice, in James A. Banks and William W. Joyce (editors), Teaching social studies to culturally different children (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley), 1971.

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